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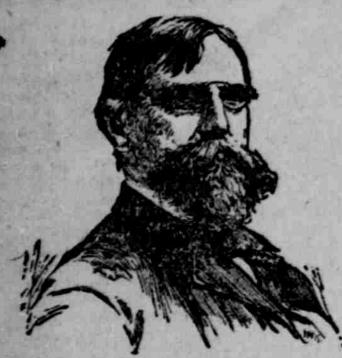
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AMUSEMENTS.

"Robin Hood."

The Bostonians still continue to give Smith and De Koven's viril opera, "Robin Hood," with triumphant success. The audience at the Grand last night packed the house, and had Jessie Bartlett Davis and Helen Bertram, and Blake, and Cowles, and MacDonald, and Barnabee given all the encores unmistakably called for the performance would have run until nearly midnight. This opera and these singers constitute the greatest all-American combination in the operatic line ever got together, and from present indications it is one likely to continue until the New Year's chimes announce the death of this century. After years of one successful season after another the Bostonians are under contract to go into New York again with "Robin Hood" for a three weeks' run in February. By the end of this season, it is said, the gross receipts for this opera will reach more than a million dollars, and the royalties paid to the author amount to over \$100,000.

Often as the opera has been given here, there was no appreciable falling off last night in the favor with which the tuneful umbers were received. There was even a lency to wild, unrestrained joy over see Bartlett Davis's singing. And why Nothing on the American stage can approach her as a dramatic contralto, and f all the stories are to be credited, she outranks all the alleged contraltos in the Euopean capitals. Eugene Cowles is only a less favorite here, and in "Robin" he is at his best. Helen Bertram, s Maid Marion, was far more satisfying in in her trifling role in a "A Wartime ing." which, throwing out the mus is simple melodramatic drivet. Harold Blake, in this opera, meets the demand nade on his rather small voice with aston shing success. True, there is an unavoiden on account of his slight figure and brief stature, but, with this and his voice against him, he fills the role better than any of the tenors who have tried it in years, perhaps better than all of them.

New Year's Attractions.

Those who seen "Trilby" say it crowds all plays for being one of the most fascinating ever put on the stage. They say further that seeing it once never fails to create a desire for another evening of this hypnotic drama. It has been the sensation of the season everywhere and Indianapolis is likely to prove no exception. The ning performance at the Grand this afternoon will be witnessed by a very large audience, and to-night the theater will be crowded. The cast includes Mabel Amber as Trilby. Theodore Roberts as Svengali. Carr as Taffy, Fank Rolleston as the Laird and Lizzie Annandale as Madame Vinard. The engagement is for the remainder of the week, with another matinee Saturday. There is little doubt that Paul M. Potter's framatization of Du Maurier's famous novel is about the cleverest of this decade. The book is deeply interesting and is being liscussed by all. Like all other of the idiosyncrasies of human beings, the graet de sire at the present time is for something new. "Trifby" is all of this and even more It possesses the essentials of originality and realism. It if lifelike in the portrayal of character, and nothing is lost in the dramatization. The character of Trilby is unique, strange and fascinating.

Katie Emmett closes her engagement at English's this afternoon and to-night, with performances of "An American Boy," her new play, which is decidedly her most pre-

tentious effort. The Park's big New Year's audiences this afternoon and evening will enjoy "The Span of Life." It is sensational and very well staged and acted. Elmer Grandin, Eva Mountford and their company follow tomorrow in "Slaves of Gold."

One of the best specialty shows of the season, Harry Morris's Entertainers, is fill ing a week's engagement at the Empire and so far the business has been very good considering the very disagreeable weather. A special matinee will be given to-day.

An Actress's Will Recalled.

CHICAGO, Dec. 31 .- The death of Minnie Adams Brooke, whose burial took place at Oakwoods on Sunday, recalls the romantic story of the Mandeville sisters, popular actressess before the war, and a remarkable will made by one of them, which was probated in San Francisco. This document, it is claimed, was written as a farewell letter on the steamer Pacific, which foundered in November, 1875, when 185 lives were lost. The document was cast overboard in bottle, picked up and delivered to the anonymously, and after sixteen years was discovered accidentally to have the force of a holographic will. Depositions are now being taken to enter final proofs the document. The estate is valued at \$20,000. Minnie Adams Brooke was the hter of Jennie Mandeville Parsons, dest of the Mandeville sisters, who were popular actresses in New York in the fifties.

Inspiring Scene at "Trilby." TERRE HAUTE, Ind., Dec. 31.-There was a novel feature of the "Trilby" performance given by the Palmer company at the opera house to-night. The place was crowded, and just as the old year went out the play suddenly stopped, and Miss Annandale gan singing "The Star-spangled Banner." slastic audience took up the re rain, and, selzing the flags with which the use was decorated, waved them overhead pining in the song. The scene was an

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REFORMS FOR CITIES!

POLITICAL SCIENTISTS A UNIT URGING BUSINESS METHODS.

Franklin MacVeagh's Paper-Some Differences in Views as to the Powers of Mayors.

The first paper on the afternoon programme of the union meeting of Economists was to have been read by Franklin MacVeagh, of Chicago, but it was changed, for some reason, and the paper of Clinton Rogers Woodruff, which on account of Mr. Woodruff's absence, was read by Lucius B. Swift, was placed first. Mr. MacVeagh's paper was a full and complete statement of the many problems of city government. He is closely indentified with city affairs in Chicago, and is a man well qualified to write on the subject. Mr. MacVeagh is a millionaire grocer of Chicago, and is a brother of Wayne MacVeagh, of Philadelphia, whom President Cleveland appointed minister to Italy. Mr. MacVeagh is regarded in Chicago as one of the leading thinkers of the day on municipal matters. He is a man that never refuses to talk of such matters where he thinks it will do some good, and the organization cannot be too poor or lowly that calls for his words. He is prominent in all civic reform movements. His address in full follows:

"Present obstacles to the introduction of business methods in city government divide themselves into two classes: First, defects in charters and other legal equipment; and, secondly, deficiencies in volunteer support by the people-support which cannot be supplied by laws or constitutions.

"By 'business methods' I assume we mean good methods; which have come to be called business methods because the corrupt, wasteful and partisan methods of unreformed city government have proven themselves conspicuously unbusinesslike, and, therefore, incompetent. I do not bethe business character of city government; nor do I think it judicious to accent property rights in this connection. City government, in my judgment, is not the affair of the taxpayer any more than the national or State government, whose revenues he also contributes-and any tendency to think would forever fail.

political and personal rights and nterests-has more to do with life, liberty the federal and State governments put together. On the other hand, business methods are certainly appropriate to a large part of the functions of city government; and their introduction is rightly a large part of the effort of municipal reform. "The first class of obstacles to their introduction I shall treat as summarily as posam anxious to accent the other obstacles and because it seems to me that so much is habitually said about reforms in the mechanism and laws of city government "I shall, then, in the form of a summary and with little or no discussion or comment enumerate those features of a city charter which are most favorable to the introducof business methods: Executive independence. The inde

pendence of the mayor, and, under the mayor, the independence of each head of a department. For this the executive work government must be wholly in the of the mayor; and all appointments to office in the executive departments must be made by the mayor without confirmation

"2. Executive responsibility. Just as the mayoralty is filled by one man, not only ne sake of greater executive efficiency but also to concentrate and make definite the responsibility of mayoralty action, so each department, for both these reasons, should be presided over by one man. Executive boards should not exist in city government. They would paralyze a charter made by the National Municipal Reform "3. The restriction of the powers of th

Council. This is of extreme and critical importance. At present the council is th branch chiefly to be reconstructed. It the seat I the worst corruption and the occasion I the worst evils of the situation. the branch which has had the least actual reform and the least attention reformers. The charters have advanced very greatly and successfully in respect to the executive; but the successful handling of the problems involved in city legislation have not very far progressed The word I especially wish to speak as to charter reform is that the reform of the council is by far the most imperativeand that the existing evils of city legislation are by far the most crying evils of city gov-

HIS LIST OF REFORMS "I shall only indicate general lines of this

All executive power and authority should be taken away from the councils, The right of power to initiate the grant of franchises should be taken away No power should reside in the council to increase assessments for taxation or the rate of taxation, nor to authorize or create debt, except within the strict limits laid down by the Constitution and general laws

4. Common sense rules governing counclis to prevent hasty and unconsidered action should be incorporated in the general laws of the State. should be carefully limited. "6. Members should be elected for two

years, one-half at a time, on general tick-One house is enough—to say the least Members should be paid reasonable and adequate salaries-and should not be

expected to steal them. "So much for charter reform. "The next great feature of good legal environment is civil service reform-the merit system. This should embrace all appointees and employes, except the chiefs of departments and their private secretaries.

"And the next is home rule. This means: "I. A charter granted in a general incorporation law of the State. The limits of taxation made by the State Constitution and strictly general laws of the State. "3. A constitutional prohibition of special No appointmente of city officials

made by any State authority. "And the next is election reform The Australian ballot.

"2. Laws governing primaries-bringing primary elections under the regular and rigid control of law as other elections are. "3. A corrupt practices act-applicable to committees and candidates. "4. Separate city elections

"This includes a summary statement of what I believe is needed in the legal environment and the mechanism of city government-a programme of municipal reform which would remove the present legal obstacles to the introduction of business

"Before passing to the second class obstacles, permit me to pause a moment to mention an interesting item of nearly all programmes of municipal reform which does not seem as clear a prospect to me as t does to many. I refer to the demand for onpartisan nominations. Most assuredly I should have no objection to city government without national parties if that were ossible. But having had a good deal to o, first and last, with the effort to separate city politics from national parties. I have come to the conclusion that, as a permanent condition, it is not possible. And is borne in upon my mind that we are wasting a great deal of valuable force in pursuing what seems to me, after a some what long and unsuccessful pursuit, a firstclass jack-o'-lantern. It would be a great drawback to the influence of the people if sitizens' tickets can only be reckoned upon as an occasional resort, or as a sword of Damocles hanging over the head of the oliticians. There are supposed to be three alternatives: No constant parties at all onstant parties divided exclusively on loca ssues, and national parties. It seems to me that we must deny our political instincts and habits, and the American commitment to government by parties before we can assume that the politics of our

great cities will get on without parties. PARTIES IN CITY AFFAIRS. "On the other hand, it seems to me that our imagination can hardly grasp parties permanently divided on city issues. Certainly. I am wholly at a loss to construct permanent dividing lines for such parties. But even if we could construct such parties, where is the proof that they would be any better than the national ones? Sudden popular movements, which result in citizens' tickets, may be wise and public spirited, but regularly established city parties, f conceivable at all, would, in face of hese facts of organization and the institu-

pame of the party, but the fact of the or- to last, all of the really spiritual elements canization of the machine—which makes of our national life would be driven to In American politics expect to get on with- national character. I mean now the feel-IN out established parties, because of the ing of the 'good citizen' that he can treat genius of our institutions and the fixed citizenship from a pecuniary point of view habits of the people, so, if we have regular and thus afford to endure parties, we are liable to machine methods, ment better than he can afford to give time whatever the parties divide on; and the to get good government. This is not peresult, to my mind, is that whether we like culiar to the very rich, but to all well-int or not, we must get on in city politics with the national parties-except that, as a last resort, there is the citizens' ticket as a | that one may choose between taxes or incorrective of a permanent party system. Even in London, with the aid of long-established English opinion in favor of nonpartisan city government, the effort to keep

to American municipal reformers. "Since it is probable, to my mind, that we must get on with the national parties, of irresponsibility and self-separation from I like to think of their less unfavorable city government—and I believe this is the aspects; and do not at all think the case a very road by which the step is taken-to hopeless one. It would seem that parties counted good enough to decide and direct our delicate international affairs, might, properly looked after by the people, be made good enough to handle what is left of our political affairs, to-wit, the government of our cities, especially with the extraordinary aid of that corrective agency, the citizens' ticket, which is wholly lacking in international, national or State politics. "Of course these parties won't, in cities,

work exclusively the will of the people if not attended to by the people. And why should they? But neither would any other parties. And if the people really intend to run parties in their cities, after having so long neglected to do so. I cannot see why they cannot run the existing parties as well as new ones, and save themselves the impossible task of building up other parties that cannot be built up. "The effective remedy, if you will permit

nie to say so, is rapidly growing up-not independent parties in municipal affairs, but independent voting in municipal affairs. A phenomenal increase in this is one of the striking features and factors of the times. and has the advantage, over the establishment of new parties, of being in the actual drift and current of the popular move-

MEANS OF REFORM. "All of which, bringing me to the second class of obstacles, brings me to what I have especially to say, which is, that change in the mechanism of city governlong to the school that inclines to magnify | ment, nor any number of such changes. will of themselves bring us good city government; and no changes in the patronage system, however helpful and beneficial, will of itself, or associated with any number it so alienates popular sympathy, and any of charter improvements, bring us good effort to reform it into that, in America, government; nor will the fullest measure of "City government is highly political, and, bring it. But something else and far it all in all, touches more of the different is needed as a wit: a change in the political habits of the -a change from habitual neglect of and the pursuit of happiness-than perhaps political duties by the body of our socalled good citizens to habitual attention to them. Happily, this does not involve a change of heart and habit in all so-called good citizens. That would be hopelessor large numbers of 'good citizens' are so incapable of good citizenship that they will always steal a ride while better citizens do the work. But all are not needed; or so potent is righteousness and right thinking in city affairs that one righteous citizen is stronger than a hundred workers It does not take all to gain con-And control is not as far off as it was a few years ago. When New York can have fairly good government for even one year no city need despair. A new era is at hand. The 'good citizen' is to give place

> "Much may be done by charter changes and the like to prepare the way, but it is mpossible to get good city government in merica without reforming the attitude of the well-intentioned people. And one cannot too emphatically or too often cry out against the tendency to overvalue the importance of technical changes and reforms. hey are right and good-but they are, after all, but the lifeless form of city government hat can only be made alive, can only be touched by the Promethean fire, by the mergy of men without axes to grind. deas of good government cannot enter otherwise into these nerveless forms of re-Public spirit, the only source, the spring of life for good city government in America, cannot gain a foothold in city government except through the energy of the best men in the cor speak of permanent phases. Certainly mayor, however elected, may turn out a pirited official-and for the time be ng we may have one man striving against the tremendous odds of a corrupt system. But right city government can be permanently brought about only through the re-form of the bad habits of the good peo-

to a hetter citizen.

"It is so strongly my feeling that the trouble lies in the disused or weakly used citizenship of the honest part of the peoole that I principally care to urge that All that has been so far done is due to the awakening of popular interest to stirring up the latent good citizenship f the communities. We can have business methods in city government with a good charter or without a good charter whenver the citizens who believe in these methods care to take the trouble. It is far easier to accomplish good government with than without a good charter, and with than without the merit system, and with than without home rule; but it is impossible with all these aids and without the aid of the well-intentioned people

BURDENS ON EVIL-DOERS. "When, therefore, I mentioned the chief features of a good charter and civil-service reform and home rule as aids to the introduction of business methods, however much I valued these things in themselves, valued them also as the removals of so many obstacles to the activity of the nonmachine citizen. These reforms are inand easy for the righteous. But they are not panaceas, for it is not possible to get good city government to work automatic-No machine possible to be devised act by itself and produce good city covernment-or automatically work on the ines of business methods. There is no perpetual motion in city government; and inere snowd be, wit such citizens a we have now, it would perpetually produce a mass of corruption and incompe tency and public disgrace. Somebody will run the government because it cannot run alone. If the 'good citizens'-who are in the majority, else free government would be an impossibility-wish to run the city, they can; if they don't run is litizens not so good will run it. A good system of government won't produce good government without good citizens. It will nerely make bad government more difficult for bad citizens, or good government nore easy for good citizens. We have, for example, in Chicago all of these good things, except a reformed Council, including civil-service reform and home rule: but our enemies permit themselves to say still a possibility of the future. good city government is the nonparticipa

that better government than we have is "Now, if the obstacle of obstacles tion of the good citizen in city politics and city affairs-and if this s not a mere vague fling at one's neighbors, but a sel entific fact, let us inquire why this obstacle exists. I think it is explained by four states of the public mind.

WHY GOOD CITIZENS ARE INACTIVE "First, there is the feeling of no obligation to take part in city politics and government. Nothing is more abnormal than this, and yet nothing is more common. One would think if a man wished to live without the duties of citizeship he would find a country where government is not done by the people; and that if he preferred a country governed by the people of government. But most of us both refuse to live in any other country and refuse to really live in this; for a man who in a self-governed country doesn't to govern, doesn't live, but merely hangs The saving clause is that at the bottom of our minds most of us do admit the responsibility of citizenship who on the surface deny it; and certainly those of us who rise to political consciousness in occasional spurts show that we might live useful civil lives if somebody would wake us really up. econdly, there is the customary sentiment toward the city government that it is something apart from ourselves-some-

siders, fee.ing that its horribly neglected duties are enough to provoke that saint, 'the good citizen.' It is supposed to be for us, to be sure, but not of us or by us. It does not occur to us to blame ourselves or to think we did it. Thus we neither govern nor give self-government, and as a consequence a government, never contemplated in any system conceived by mortal an, wh ther monarchic, absolute or limited, aristocratoligarchie, democratic or republican. We get a government for which a new name will have to be invented signifying a goveinment by the greatest unfit. 'The third abnormal state of mind which ecording to my analysis, leads to the

resent attitude of the good citizen, is hiefly due to the money-retting spirit of

he age, which is to be modified in time.

thing we have a right to swear at as out-

emigrate. It would be an instance Gresham law applied to the factors of tentioned citizens, whatever the amount or sources of their income. The feeling is come, or salary or wages and political effort: that citizenship can be taken for nothing, or, like some foreign titles, can be paid for in cash, and things squared once the new government on nonpartisan lines | for all-squared with the town and squared has wholly and most conspicuously failed- with one's conscience. a fact, it seems to me, full of instruction THE UNPARDO

THE UNPARDONABLE SIN.

of irresponsibility and self-separation from

"There is but one step from all this sense

that deep pit of fallen citizenship, into all the federal affairs of the Nation, all which men plunge who bribe their way the state affairs of the States, and all of through city governments to what they want. These men commit the unpardonable sin of city life. I know of nothing in all the range of municipal reform more important that the tearing up by the roots of the infamous practices of bribery. There is no worse citizen in America than the good citizen who pays a bribe. He is as much worse than the man bribed as his social and financial opportunities are greater and his temptation less. His crime is committed without necessity and without haste. It is cold-blooded, mercenary debauchery, and wholly inexcusable. must be stopped. It furnishes food for the greater part of the corruption of city gov-ernment; with the spoils system, it fur-nishes nearly all; and it is impossible to reform city government as long as this horrible vice, in its present infamous virulence exists. It is not only a grand obstacle to the introduction of business methods in city government, and it is not only imnoral, dishonest and dishonorable as scarce anything else in the corruption of city life is, but upon the part of bribers, is scandalously mean and graded, in view of their chances in honorable competition of business life, and of the absence of all serious temptation, As I believe the uprooting of these practices to be of the greatest moment to municipal reform, I beg to offer the practical suggestion that a change ought to be made in the laws punishing this crime. We have tried, without avail, laws making both briber and bribed equally punishable, be-cause, as both are liable to punishment. both have the highest motive for secrecy and evidence can hardly ever be obtained We have also tried making the bribed alone punishable; and this has not availed, because the briber is usually a man of too much position to be willing to tell the truth about his crime and appear in his true light, He isof that higher grade of criminals which tive of making punishment apply only to the briber, for though the bribed would not always peach, he certainly sometimes would; and the briber would always regard nim as a man who might and would be fairy sure that when exposure did not follow. blackmail would; and this would add new risks that very few moneyed men would dare to take. Moreover, in city government bribery, there are usually so many of the bribed that the risks of exposure would be immensely multiplied. I commend this reform to your attention

"The fourth and last which I have mention of these states of public consciousness is the lack of sensitiveness to the evils city government. The public conscience is not sensitive to the corruptions of city government. Nor is it alive to the baseness of bribery. The public taste is not awake to the disorder and dirt and general ugliness of our cities. Public pride takes but little offense at those things which make our cities a reproach to civilization. The public mind is not yet fully alive to excess of partisanship in city affairs; nor to the excess in partisanship in newspapers. which, in purely city affairs, protect their parties when in office and keep them from serving the city at their best; and even deter many good men by their intemperate criticism from going into city politics at all. The people must blame themselves for this. because newspapers are what the people expect them to be, nothing in the world being more dependent upon public taste and public approval than the press.

REAL CAUSE AND REMEDY. "The most underlying of all the causes of the people's neglect of city politics is this want of sensitiveness to the evils of bad city government. You cannot get people to exert themselves to cure evils they do "The remedy is education. That sounds

remote and disappointing, but it isn't so bad as that. I wish it were not so bad as it is, but that cannot be helped. You cannot have good city government without energetic good citizens to counteract energetic bad citizens; and you cannot get citizens to be energetic against corrupt public life who do not heartily hate corruption; nor against shocking incompetence and neglect who are not shocked by them; nor against bribery who do not heartily hate bribing and despise bribers; nor against filthy streets and disgraceful sanitation whose lives are not made unhappy by them; nor against prodigal, selfish and partisan waste of the public funds if their indignation is not stirred by it. Therefore you must first stir the people to see all these things with an abiding consciousness that burns into the brain, and hate them with an abiding hatred that perpetually stirs their resentment. Education is the only remedy. This education has begun. It has begun prosperously and hopefully. New citizens are constantly enlisting in the fight, which s growing warm against the audacious travesty of free government in our cities. There no conversion needed, for no sane man lefends American city government. What s needed is to educate and stimulate the sensitiveness of the citizens, and to stir their blood. Agitation and publicity are the chosen methods of this education. "The most essential preliminary is to unerstand the problem-to understand the imits and the particulars of what is needed to be done. After that we have nothing o fear; we have only to 'learn to labor and to wait: for whatever is needed will be accomplished by the growing spirit of

reform, no matter how le need to be prolonged. The evidences of this are stirring on all ides; but we could infer it, without present evidence from the political genius of the American people and its exalted mission to establish and protect self-government; for political genius and mission alike would prove the greatest disappointments of polit-

ical history if city government, such as we know it to-day, could by any possibility become permanent in America."

LACK OF MUNICIPAL INTEREST. Young Men See Too Much Opportunity in Private Life.

Lucius B. Swift read the first paper on the subject, "The Present Obstacles to the Adoption of Business Methods in Municipal Administration," prepared by Clinton Rogers Woodruff, secretary of the National Municipal League. In part it was as fol-

"The title given to this discussion seems to indicate that it is to be taken for granted that business methods do not prevail it ipal administration. This is true we confine ourselves to American cities. If there is one subject more than another has received general consideration during the past five years, it is that of government in the United Reference was made to the widespread discussion of the tion by the press, and, if we are to judge from these, but one conclusion can be reached, that, not only is municipal government far from attaining the highest possible standards, but in many instances is positively bad. "I think it entirely within the mark to say that the people are awakening to the fact that all is not as it should be, and there is something radically wrong. They are not aware of the extent of the problems; never-

theless, the fact that their attention has been directed to the situation, and that they are busy discussing ways and means of introducing a better era will ere long result in substantial improvement and perma-nently changed conditions. Generally speaking, we have had bad city government, and we agree that business methods should prevail in it. The question logically arises What obstacles stand in the way of applying business methods to our municipal affairs. Briefly stated, the answer would be 1. American commercialism. 2. The spirit of partisanship. 3. The misplacement of emphasis since the outbreak of the civil war. 4. An erroneous political perspective, 5. Executive legislation. 6. Want of Jocal Commercialism, or undue absorption

private business, or an undue desire to acmulate wealth, has been the distinguishng characteristic of the average American turing the present century and especially since the civil war. This spirit has produced certain effects and leads to several results. the consideration of which will throw some light upon one obstacle to the adoption of business methods in municipal administra-Commercialism leads to the absorption of the best business talent in every community in private business affairs, beause the legitimate rewards are larger, and ause there is a permanency of tenure not

and professional pursuits are much larger than those from even the highest offices, and as long as this remains true even the honors of officeholding will not tempt tal-ented men from private business pursuits. The point was made that a young man starting out in private business knows that by diligence and attention to details he will be able to improve his position and emolu-ments. "Is it any wonder," the paper goes on to say, "that private affairs irresistibly attract young men, and that we find the public service in many cities filled with men who cannot make a livelihood elsewhere, and who resort to public patronage only when all other resources fail Commercial-ism robs the public service of the best men and leaves it almost bare." The writer contended commercialism leads not only to the absorption of talent in private affairs, but also the diversion of the constructive talents of the community to the same channels. "As a result of this tendency," he says, "we have the curious condition of great advance in business that has placed us at the head of the commercial world, while in nunicipal methods we are a generation or so behind. Another result of commercialism is seen in the indifference of the average voter, who is so wrapped up in his business that he forgets to discharge his few simple duties as a citizen. Most of them to whom this statement is applicable reason the amount of time they would devote to political affairs if devoted to their private business would yield a return very much larger than the increased tax they will be subject to by permitting incompetent men to run the city government. Inasmuch as most of our taxation has been indirect, insignificant as compared with European taxes, voters have not felt the full effect of high municipal taxation and extravagant and inefficient

local government. BRIBING PUBLIC OFFICERS. "The spirit of commercialism has also had an effect somewhat different from those just considered. Many men who devote their brains and energies to the consummation of great undertakings have found it is good business to conciliate the governing powers. Their power has been to make their interests identical." He goes on to show that the business man found it would pay him better to bribe than to pay the city the true value of privileges sought. "We find amost an universal complaint that important concessions are made to capitansts with no restrictions or regulations worth mentioning. Individuals and corporations desiring public work and they can make more money by bidding a low rate for con-tracts and then purchasing lax inspection and an ignoring of specimeations than by binding a higher price with honest official oversight." It was then shown to be true that the present lack of business methods is more largely due to these causes than to universal suffrage and foreign population. Partisanship, or the prostitution of public office and measures to party success was neld to be the next greatest obstacle. party as a means to an end is right, but as an end in itself it is all wrong, and yet we can be trusted to believe in honor among have made party success the end to be at-"To accomplish this we have utilized the offices. They have not served to promote the well being of the people, but pay off party debts and strengthen the party's working force. Men are nominated to important positions to conciliate interests of value to the party. This keeps business men out of public life. It keeps young men of ability from entering the civil service. It keeps politicians in office and prevents the adoption of business methods. Undue emphasis of party loyalty has brought about a transfer of allegiance from public to

party interests. "The cry of 'measures, not men,' always a mistaken and unwise policy, is still more so now when the issues are mainly business ones. The average voter feels there is some magic in a good measure that will transform a bad man into a good one. This misplacement of emphasis has led: 1. To party politicians and machines furnishing party measures of the most inspiring character as a cloak to the candidacy of weak 2. To the organization of extensive political machines on the plea of great measures must be backed up by organization, the real purpose of the machine, how-ever, being to plunder the public for the personal profit of the politician. American people have formed an erroneous conception of the importance of municipal government and have awarded first place in their interest and attention to national and State is sues. As a matter of fact, a citizen come into contact with municipal government many times more than with the State and national. Second best has been regarded as good enough for the city, and the best political talent of the community has been diverted from the service of the city to that of the State and Nation

'Most, if not all, American cities fail to endow their executive officers with sufficient power to secure à well-rounded, continuous, usinesslike conduct of municipal affairs They permit the local legislatures to interto too great extent in the conduct of purely executive business. Councils should etermine general politics, fix the tax rate, make appropriations and pass ordinances of general import. Their power to meddle in executive business should be very greatly curtailed. Until such a step is taken busi-ness methods cannot be adopted, because business men will not assume important offices and grave responsibilities to be tinually hampered in the discharge of their duties. Want of local autonomy is the operation on a large scale of the obstacle just mentioned." The paper closes with the statements that our local governments have been modeled too closely after the federal plan. and that State legislatures are permitted to

meddle too much in local affairs. DR. GLADDEN'S PAPER.

He Gives Some Pertinent Instances Corrapt Government.

Dr. Washington Giadden, a minister Columbus, O., took a leading part in the discussion of the afternoon topic. He agreed in general with the statements of the other speakers, but advanced some ideas that had not been mentioned. His paper is given in full as follows:

The first question is what we should regard as business methods in municipal ninistration. The answer might be: "1. The organization of the public business in such a way that responsibility shall be clearly defined and enforced. 2. The employment in public stations of those who are presumably well qualified to discharge their duties. 3. The greatest economy in administration, consistent with good service. say. In the way of the adoption of each and all of these there are many obstacles. to be essential. I do not know of any kind business, from that of managing a railway to that of managing a church, which does not require the definition and location of responsibility and a central power to enforce it. But we often encounter, in organizing municipalties, strong objections to giving the executive any power. In the State of Ohio this prejudice is exceptionally strong. Unluckily the first territorial Governor, General St. Clair, was a very tatorial and domineering person; and when the Constitution of the State was formed the convention took good care to limit in executive. Our Governor is, therefore, so nfluence over legislation; he does not possess the veto power; his duties are chiefly to appoint a few inferior State officers and the trustees of the various charitable institutions. You may not have got this impression about our Governors; indeed, they are sometimes men who are capable of filling much more responsible positions, and some of them have thought so themselves. One of the advantages of the Ohio governorship is that a man has not much to do but aspire. But what I am trying to point out is that the prejudice against a strong executive is traditional in Ohio. We do not propose that any man shall have executive nower enough to do any harm; and governments in which the executive is stripped of nower will not be managed on business principles.

THE MAYOR'S RESPONSIBILITY. "This traditional prejudice has lately been overcome among us, to the extent of giving

to the Mayor, in a few of our cities, a considerable measure of responsibility; but the power thus conferred is in some cases timidly and tardily accepted; the executive seems very loath to imitate Andrew Jackson and take the responsibility. I apprehend that something of this fear of enlarging executive power prevails elsewhere than in Ohio, and leads to the adoption of methods of administration which are as far removed from business methods as the East is from

"With respect to the other two principles named-the employment of competent offi-cials and the enforcement of a rigid economy-the obstacles in the way of these are very numerous. We may say that the political machines, all of them, are obstacles to the adoption of these methods. The entire organization of modern politics tends to defeat the introduction of these methods Every political machine is, in effect, if not in purpose, an organization for the preven tion of economy. Men who are in politics for what there is in it would naturally be opposed to the diminution of their resources, They want the salaries to be large, the fees and perquisites to be numerous and extravagant; they prefer that the methods of let ting contracts should be so loose and collusive that work of all kinds shall cost the city far more than it costs private citizens; they prefer this because the contractor can be made to share these ill-gotten gains with themselves. To the man who makes a tion of unavoidable machines, have no more chance of wisdom and public spirit than getting spirit is new, and there is no really any other party machines. It is not the son to fear that it can last. If it were the returns in mercantile, manufacturing or the State is the source of supplies, the

true objective of his campaigns; his success consists in getting as large a portion as he can of the money raised by taxation. The more loose, irregular, irresponsible, wasteful are the methods of administration

the better his ends are served. "One of the departments of one of our ow; city governments lately purchased of a local firm between fifty and sixty-five extinguishers for public buildings at \$20 each, when private persons were purchasing the same articles at from ten to thirteen dollars each. The same department lately ordered \$1,600 worth of books from a publishing house-through an agent, of course-at 5 per cent, discount on the highest retail price. It is evident that these were not business transactions, and it is equally evident why they were not. If goods were purchased for the city by business methods there would be little inducement for certain classes of people to go into politics.

THE TAXPAYERS ROBBED.

"In this morning's Columbus paper I have

been reading on my way over the report

of an investigating committee appointed by the City Council, which shows the fraudulent overpayment to a gang of contractors of between \$40,000 and \$50,000 upon the construction of a sewer. The report says: "That the city and taxpayers have been openly and flagrantly robbed by its dishonest, or, to say the least, negligent officers or agents in the construction of these sewers goes without saying.' That the engineer in charge 'entered upon the wholesale plunder of the public funds by dishonest methods' this committee affirms, and the neglect of his superiors, under which this was suffered to go on, can be little less than criminal 'The evidence shows,' says this committee, 'that the engineer had the contractors begin their work near the middle of the different lines of sewer, making no provision for an outlet; before the work was half completed the funds were all exhausted, and the por-tions of the sewer finished had been studiously made useless until another appropriation could be obtained.' I suppose that he began it in the middle because he meant that, if he could help it, it should never come to an end. The dishonest officials arraigned in this investigation are of the same political party as the majority of the committee arraigning them, so it is pretty safe to conclude that the charges are not

exaggerated. "For the last year it has been my pleasant duty to spend a good deal of time in the careful examination of the business methods of our own municipality, and the amount of iniquity disclosed is positively sickening. Our city has been pretty ex-tensively paved within the past ten years, and competent engineers express the opin-ion that the pavement has cost the city from 30 to 50 per cent. more than it should have cost. All this is due to a combination of rascally contractors with dishonest politicians. Hard things are sometimes said of Columbus, but in one respect, at any rate, it is not like hell: it has not been paved with good intentions. The intentions of the contractors and officials managing the matter must certainly have been bad. And if the proverb tells the truth about the construction of the pavements down there, I feel pretty sure that when our Columbus contractors get there they will find their occupation gone-there is a crumb of comfort in that reflection HOW OFFICES ARE REGARDED.

"Sc far as the selection of the most com-

petent service is concerned, it is evident that the political machines have only a subordinate interest in them. The offices are not regarded as positions of public responsibility and duty; they are regarded as the rewards of faithful work for the party. The question is not whether this man is the best man obtainable to do this work, but whether he is entitled to the place, in view of what he has done or may do for the machine. When Frankfort-on-the-Main wants a new system of sewerage she searches through Germany and finds a man who, by his scientific attainments and his business experience, is best fitted for this responsible task. When one of our American cities contemplates such an enterprise the man put in charge of it is apt to be the man with the strongest pull at the headquarters of the party in power. In short, it may be said that all the interests, traditions, purposes, ideas of the men who make a business of politics are naturally adverse to the adoption of business methods in municipal administration. The more businesslike these methods are, the more rigidly efficiency, and economy, and skill, and experience, and responsibility were insisted on, the smaller their opportunity would be The great obstacles in the way of the adop tion of business principles in municipal gov ernment are the political organizations controlled by the men who make a busines of politics. These people are greatly strengthened in their work of obstruction by those who have nothing to do with pol tics. There are a great many men in al our cities who are both capable and honest who might render the city efficient service but who refuse to do so because of the sacrifice involved. When our present Mayor took office he made a strenuous effort to secure as his heads of departments several able men, but they declined to come to his aid. By this unpatriotic reluctance to make the necessary sacrifice of ease or gain for the public good the rule of the bosses is

THE MACHINE THAT WINS. "The political machine, whose interest lies

in the obstruction of business methods

of administration, is also bulwarked by the abject partisanship of the great majority of voters. It is the machine that wins the party victories, and almost everything will be forgiven to those who will lead the party to victory. A man like Quay, of Pennsylvania, or Gorman, of Maryland, or Platt, of New York, is a great man in the eyes of the sincere partisan. If the city patronage will help him he must have it, by all means. What are business considerations compared with the success of the giorious old party "Finally, if I may use a kind of riber-nianism, I would say that one of the great costacies to the adoption of business meth-ods in the city affairs, "something that isn't there. The apostle says that things that are not something bring to naught things that are, and we have here an illustration of it. The lack of public spiritof an active, effective municipal pride and patriotism, on the part of the people at large, is the great hindrance to municipal reform. Service and sacrifices are re- dertake the repair of the street and its moned to take office, but of all the rest of the citizens. The business of governing a city is an arduous business; it is entrusted, in our country, to the people of the city-not merely to those who happen to be in office; not merely those who run the political machines, but to the whole voting population, and it will never be well done unless those who are charged with it tience, and perseverance, and knowledge. and skill, and fidelity, and courage on the part of the citizens; it will require from them a willingness to forego some of their gains, to risk unpopularity, to undergo dis-comfort and some hardship in order that the plunderers and the parasites may be every possible way the authority of the driven from power and kept from power. and the government of the city be kept in far as his official powers are concerned, a the hands of those who have both the abil-very insignificant functionary. He has no ity and the will to govern well. It requires ity and the will to govern well. It requires of old citizens more than most citizens are willing to render. We are too busy-most of us, with our shops and our merchandise,

> may be sacrificed to private gain. How can we complain, if when they find themselves in office they act upon our principles? "All then, I fear, is dismally I am well aware that I have not succeeded in saying anything new or in-teresting. I do not know that there is anything more to be said than this, that the people of our cities will have good government whenever they are ready to take the same pains to secure it that they expect to take in getting any other good thing on which they set their hearts,'

our briefs and our sermons to give much at-

tention to this great business of governing

the city. We leave that, mostly, to the men

who make a business of it. By so doing we

openly confess to them that public interest

THE CONCLUDING DISCUSSION. Professor Jenks Does Not Believe in

Mayors as Autocrats. Professor John H. Gray, of the Northwestern University, in discussing the topic of the afternoon held that the municipal ideas of most of the people were those of the eighteenth century, while the demands were those of the nineteenth century. People have lost sight of the proper standard of municipal government, and in turning out one set of rascals have only put in another. The reform Council recently elected by the Civic Federation of Chicago was cited as an example to the

Professor E. W. Bemis considered the opic briefly. He insisted that honest regulation of powerful corporations is one important reform needed. More needful, indeed, is this than a reform among ward give his sermon, "Christ Crowded Out." politicians. Professor J. W. Jenks also spoke for the need of a better civic spirit. He did not believe the idea of minimizing the powers of city councils and placing autocratic power in the hands of the mayor was no more useful than a temporary ex-pedient. He thinks it best to reform city councils and then trust them with powers. He favors the plan of proportionate representation in a council. If one party or group casts one-tenth of the total vote | Hood Frames, Summer Fronts, Jno. M. L.

"I can but touch upon one more tor Another useful change would be one that has been started in a few States so far as some county officers and State institutions are concerned. I refer to the inspection by a State officer of the accounts and of the work of local officers. 'The papers just read have objected to the supervision of city governments by State legislatures. That is, perhaps, wise. Supervision is an executive function. But supervision is needed, and a report of the work of the different cities in the State, made by an intelligent, expert official, which should show how the city business was done in each place, how revenues were collected and expended, how the city accounts were kept, etc., would have much to do toward improving the business methods. Still more would be done if such a State superintendent, or examiner, or a board with similar powers should be permitted to prescribe uniform methods of keeping accounts in cities, to make suggestions regarding methods of administration, should receive detailed reports from the city governments of the State, analyze and compare them and publish the results for public use. The obstacles are ignor-ance and dishonesty of the officials. The supervisory board would tend to remove

"We must trust the people with the gov-ernment. We shall have a good city government on a permanent basis when we give to the people a chance to express their will freely, with the certainty that their will thus expressed will be carried out. The two measures suggested-I have no time to offer more-would tend strongly in this direction

> To-Day's Programme. -Morning.-

"Mirabeau, a Victim of the Lettres de Cachet," Prof. Fred W. Filing, University of Nebraska "The Worship of Reason in Paris During the Reign of Terror." Henry E Bourne, Western Reserve University. "James Wilson and the Philadelphia Convention," Prof. A. C. McLaughlin, University of Michigan. History and Geography, Prof. U. G. Weatherly, University of Indiana.

-Afterngon.-"A Day on Braddock's Road." Reuben G. Thwaites, secretary Wisconsin Historical Society. "The Development of the Republican Party, 1789-1805, Geographically Consid-ered," Dr. O. G. Libby, University of Wisconsin

"The Earliest American Essay on Proportional Representation," Prof. E. J. James, University of Chicago. Symposium-"How May Collegiate and University Instruction in History, Eco-Political Science and Sonomics, ciology be Made More Effective for Good Citizenship." Paper by Prof. John J. Halsey, Lake Forest University. The discussion will be participated in, it is expected, by President James H. Canfield and Prof. J. A. Woodburn.

DEMILDA MO ODAVEL A KETUKN TO GRAVEL

BOARD OF WORKS SHOW A WEAK-ENING ON PERMANENT STREETS.

Capitol-Avenue Macadam Will Probably Not Be Continued Above Twelfth Street.

Members of the Board of Works are not altogether pleased with the macadem pavement being laid on Capitol avenue. The work is being done according to specifications and the pavement will be properly completed, but it is the opinion of the board that when finished it will not be all that is anticipated. There has been some difficulty in obtaining a top layer, Indianapolis being far from the fields where the best granite top can be obtained. The board sees ahead much expense to keep the pavement

Objection is already made to the difficulty there will be in keeping the pavement clean The street is level and the macadam will not have the drainage it has in districts where it is the most popular. Colonel Downing, president of the board, is not in favor of the original proposition to macadamize Capitol avenue to the neighborhood of Crown Hill. He favors stopping the macadam at Twelfth street, for which contracts have already been let. Mr. Moore, of the board, talks in the same strain, saying he believes there will be some disappointment with the pavement of macadam. An idea for the improvement of the remainder of he avenue was contained in the following communication received yester-

day from Alfred F. Potts, the attorney: "It is understood that you have now under consideration the policy to be adopted for improvements during the ensuing year, If such is the case, there are many citizens who wish an opportunity to be given the many advocates of the gravel street to test the practicability of their plans. Estimates have been made and it is found that if we take the average cost of an asphalt street as a basis, compute the interest of the investment, that the interest paid into a fund would raise a sufficient fund to repair any average street, and to keep a man employed on every two squares to thoroughly clean the street, level up its irregularities and keep it in thorough order. - By such a scheme the property holder is saved the expensive investment, secures the best of

all streets and the city would save the expense of street cleaning and repairs. "Almost everybody admits that there no street or road so sanitary as one made with hard packed gravel, and every man as the pleasantest of all surfaces to ride on. I have been conferring with some of the property owners in a certain section of the city, all of whom are anxious to preserve their streets from the expensive and disagreable features of the asphalt and expense. I write to ask if a body of responsible property owners will enter into an agreement with the board to maintain a certain stretch of street for a given period in good condition, at their own expense, whether the board will consent to

such improvement, under proper specifications as to the work to be done." Colonel Downing thought it advisable to gravel Capitol avenue from Twelfth stree northward. The board has already upon the improvement of Raymond street in a manner suggested by Mr. Potts. Mr. Moore believes that great care should be taken in allowing such privileges, as pernissions should not be granted indiscriminately. He also said gravel will hardly answer for those streets on which there i heavy traffic. Colonel Downing expresse the opinion that should a number of we constructed gravel streets be laid, the city should have a heavy roller to aid in keeping them in repair. He estimated that gravel street can be made for one-third the cost of asphalt, cedar block or macadam. and a system whereby repairs can be made and cleanliness maintained, will cost prop erty owners little more than sweeping the other streets. Colonel Downing said he knew of no better street for driving than a well kept gravel one, but constant care must be taken to keep them in first-class

Mr. Potts will probably be consulted con cerning the improvement he refers to, wh the board may decide during the next few weeks to improve several streets with

gravel, laid in a first-class manner. AS A RESULT OF HASTE.

Board of Safety Causes a Considerable Extravagance. The Board of Safety last week contracted for an Arens fire engine at a cost of \$5,000. No bids were received. Now comes the La France company, of Elmira, N. Y., which states that they would have constructed the same style of an engine, equally as good, for \$4,300. It is announced that hereafter the board will receive bids

as prescribed by the charter. Mr. Holt Reappointed. Sterling R. Holt was yesterday appointed a member of the park board for a period of five years by Mayor Taggart. Mr. Holt was serving the unexpired term caused

by the resignation of Frank Maus, At Roberts Park To-Day. There will be a series of meetings at Roberts Park Church to-day. The meeting at 10:30 o'clock in the morning will be for the aged. At 2:30 o'clock in the after and at 7:30 o'clock in the evening there w be mass meetings. Revivalist Ostrom wil

Marton Trust Company's Office. The Marion Trust Company yesterday re eived its certificate, authorizing it to de siness, from the Auditor of State, to-morrow will open its office in the Frat in Building, on the southeast corner o Monument place and Market street,

in the evening.